

1928.]

Spier, Havasupai Ethnography.

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parents have eaten portions of deer carcasses killed and partly devoured by wolves or mountain lions, or of rabbits abandoned by eagles. The baby is sung over by the doctor who knows the songs about these animals or the eagle¹ as the case may be. Potions are not administered by the doctor nor by any other. The eagle song is as follows, the last line being repeated three times:—

makáhtana áá
eagle eagle
inyáháténe inyanyáhátá
my domestic animal my dog
iyáwáhténe yuwáá
you concern my heart my heart
huyuwí'nóga hu
head head

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Dzucumalaus's father was a snake doctor. A man who had been struck in the calf by a rattler came to his house. He immediately made short incisions all about the puncture, tied a ligature about it, and sucked out the blood. At night he sang just as a shaman does, waving a feather (the longest from the eagle's wing, covered with white gypsum) over the wound.² A ring of sagebrush (*Artemisia ludoviciana*) is put around the limb to draw out the poison, not the blood, on the ground that the snake may know and use this plant. The snake doctor can cure the bites of the three snakes recognized as poisonous, viz., áluwi'tavá, the prairie rattlesnake (*Crotalus confluentus* Say), haiwi'tá, the Pacific rattlesnake (*C. oregonus* Holbrook), áluwíhalá'dá'dá, the western striped racer. (How-
ever the last, a fierce fighter, is not a venomous snake).³

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One who was struck by a snake would catch it and, grasping each jaw, attempt to split it in two. If the snake split quite to the tail, he would recover, otherwise he would die.

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The shaman's rattle is a gourd, obtained from the Hopi. Each shaman presumably has his own, but one that belongs to a layman may be borrowed by those who want to cure. (One such rattle was also borrowed for the Mohave dance). They may also be inherited as part of the shamanistic properties.

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¹The Maricopa have eagle doctors "because they are afraid of eagles" (Mohave informant, Houder (a), 172).

²Another time the informant said that this was a Washupai practice only.

³These are probable identifications made by Miss Edna M. Fisher from native sketches and descriptions. In addition my informant recognized three non-poisonous snakes: *Colubris*, the Arizona gopher snake (*Pituophis catenifer rufus* van Duzend), *Amphispeltis*, the Arizona king snake (*Lampropeltis getschweyi* Cooper), and *Amphisel*, possibly the spotted night snake (*Hypsiglena torquans* or *Hypsiglena*).

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756 The dried gourd is mounted on a wooden shaft which projects entirely through it. It rests against a neatly fitting collar cut on the handle and a thong wound around the protruding end of the shaft keeps it from coming off. Little holes are drilled in the gourd to allow the fibers inside to drop out, so that the sound will not be muffled. The holes are placed in more or less regular longitudinal rows. Only the shamans know what significance they have.¹

Turtle shell rattles, dowel jinglers, baskets to serve as drums, and whistles are not used by the Havasupai.

MEDICAL PRACTICES

757 Besides the shamanistic performances, there is some matter of fact knowledge of curing.

758 Care of the sick is cursory, or rather there seems to be no special provision for their care. They share the house and the bedding with the rest of the family; the common family dishes are presented to them to select from. Still there is some solicitude. They are not left unattended; an old woman relative may be seen seated by a sick child, fanning the flies away, and arranging shade for his protection. Yet, the conditions are so adverse that it would seem that only the strongest could survive a serious illness.

• 752 Wounds are sung over in the sweatlodge by the wound doctor, who knows the appropriate song, while he blows on them. The blood is [755] squeezed from all sides toward the cut until no more flows. If the wound suppurates, similar pressure is applied until there is a flow of healthy blood. Boils or blood blisters are cut open and the pus squeezed out. Usually a wound of any sort is not dressed, but sometimes clear white pitch pitch liberally smeared on a handful of plucked rabbit fur is applied. After a day or so, when the wound itches, this is removed and the pus squeezed out. Four or five renewals are necessary before it heals. Amputations are unheard of.

Scorpion stings are treated similarly to snake bites and possibly by the snake doctor alone. Incisions are made about the ligated wound and the blood sucked out. Dog and rat bites are not treated. People die quickly from skunk bites; they cannot be cured.²

A fractured arm is set, bandaged, bound between thin splints, and tied close to the body. Usually the arm is laid in a trench, while lying

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¹That they are not the star patterns of the Navaho. (Comary Towner, (a), 29-33.)

²The Navaho also maintain that the bite of the skunk is poisonous (Franciscan Fathers, 142) and the Rio Grande Mission that it causes rabies (Bourton, (B), 136). This is commonly thought to be false, but E. W. Nelson states (1906) that the spotted skunk unquestionably communicates rabies.

on the ground, and covered with a mixture of hot ashes and wet sand. 752
Sometimes it is blown on in the sweatlodge by a fracture doctor who knows the songs: the heat helps it. Strict continence must be observed, otherwise the patient will sicken.¹

A few medicinal plants are known, but, on the whole, internal 278
medication does not appeal to them.² Leaves of cedar and of two un- 757
identified plants which grow on the plateau (*agredika* and *teikayala*) are boiled together for a cold. This loosens the mucus and acts as a laxative. The leaves of *Pluchea sericea* are chewed to relieve irritation in the throat, or they are boiled. A copious draught of Mormon tea (*Ephedra viridis*) is taken to clear the bowels, and sometimes to induce vomiting, in cases of bowel complaints. The root of an unidentified plant, from the highest part of the plateau, Wolf's medicine, (*halagwila sedma*), is boiled and given to infants in the same way. For slight distemper, rheumatism, and headache, an unnamed plant (*Lippia Wrightii*) is boiled and taken copiously. Walapai use this against gonorrhoea.³ [77]

A bleeding nose is bathed with cold water. Blisters of burns are pricked open with a twig: red paint is dusted over the scorched surface. 757
For earache, coals are buried in the earth beneath the head of the sufferer's bed. Pison pitch is put in the cavity of an aching tooth and the mouth rinsed with cold water, or the tooth is pulled out with a cord. [752]
Beestings are squeezed and salt rubbed in.

Powdered red paint is dusted on the bodies of infants to prevent [751]
chafing. The paint mixed with grease is used to soothe the chapped hands, etc., of small boys.

The Havasupai, like the White Mountain Apache, does not thrust [77]
an injured finger into his mouth, though he will shake it to relieve the pain [752]

PRAYERS

A man who wants health, prosperity, or success addresses the earth, 782
rocks, trees, water, air, and wind. He says: "We want to prosper. We 778
wish to be like the earth or rock, to live to be old." The sun is addressed at sunrise: "Sun, my relative, look at us: help us. Misfortune may befall my possessions; perhaps someone will fall sick. You, sun, ward this off. You know how to help us prosper." In praying to the sun, a man draws his hands down his face as he blows to brush the evil away.⁴

¹Those struck by lightning are not bone-setters as at Zuni. In fact, my informant had never heard of anyone so struck save two Walapai who were killed. [77]

²This may be related to the Cahuilla dislike of taking medicine internally (Hooper, 351).

³Buckthorn is not used medicinally.

⁴See also the prayers used in planting, p. 108, in stringing a bow, p. 180, and to the sun in hunting, p. 110.

12: Cushing E-5 (1881) 1882
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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versal punishment of death. Like most other Indians, they have a good understanding of the practice of surgery, and a remarkable knowledge of anatomy.

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Labor is not regularly divided, except between the sexes; save that among the men, arrow-making and some such special arts are more practiced by those who excel in them than by others, and basket-making among the women. The men do all the hunting, bringing the game to camp, and skinning the larger kinds; the women cutting it up and preparing it for drying or cooking. Both men and women gather the agave plant, in its season, with many festivities, vying in the preparation of it for mescal, although the burden of the labor in burning it falls to the women. The men break up the soil, lay out and dig the acequias, etc., performing the heavier agricultural work, as well as the planting, while the women weed the crop and assist in hoeing. When the corn ripens, the women gather it and bring it in, make it ready, and store it in the little stone and adobe granaries under the cliffs, and in little obscure rock shelters. They also cook all foods, make baskets and most other implements of household use, while the men cut out and sew the clothing both for themselves and for the women. Much of the heavier part of the work and drudgery falls on the women, who seem, however, perfectly contented with their really hard lot.

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Sedentary agriculturists in summer, the Ha-va-su-pai produce immense quantities of datila, mescal, water-tight basket-work, and arrows. Nomadic hunters in winter, throughout the choicest ranges of the Southwest, they have become justly famous for the quantity, fineness, and quality of their buckskins, which are smooth, soft, white as snow, yet thick and durable. These buckskins, manufactured into bags, pouches, coats, and leggins, or as raw material, are valued by other Indian tribes, even as far east as the Rio Grande, as are the

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[753] Some informants believed that diarrhea was brought on through eating spoiled meat. Game shamans, therefore, frequently were thought to be effective in curing that malady. The so-called "diarrhea songs" referred to unspoiled, fat meat and the desire people had for it. No rattle accompaniment was used with these songs, which were usually repeated at least twice, though not always from the beginning. The songs were sung over both adults and children. During these songs the shaman (or, in the case of a baby, its father) would gently massage the patient's abdomen in an attempt to locate flatulent areas. The singer also would take ashes from the fire, rub them between his palms, and blow them to the east, exhaling audibly as he did so. This action was thought to remove any accompanying pain. (Diarrhea songs are no longer remembered.)

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[752] Another specialized shaman was one who could cure the bites of snakes, scorpions and black widow spiders. Particular songs, no longer recalled, were sung to ease pain and to lull the patient to sleep. The shaman also cut the wound with an obsidian or flint blade and sucked the afflicted area. On such occasions, the shaman did not invoke his spirits. The songs, repeated four times, were considered sufficient.

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[777] Of some interest are the non-power-giving dreams of shamans. Our shaman informant recalled several that appeared to him to be distinct from the dreams of lay people. They revealed data concerning the soul, life after death, and cosmology [but are tinged with acculturational elements]. Specifically, he denied an Anglo belief in heaven and hell because, in his dreams, he frequently saw the dead nearby rather than in the sky or elsewhere. He dreamed about deceased persons, both those whom he knew, such as his mother's mother, and those only about whom he had heard. Once he dreamed of a "white man" who lived beside the sun in the east. This man told people how to prosper, to obtain good clothing and land. In the west was a "dark man" who gave bad advice. These two quarreled frequently about what each told the Havasupai. After one such argument the "dark man" tried to put all the people in a dark place enclosed by a high wall but the "white man" shone light upon it. (See p. 3.)

The shaman also dreamed often of traveling through the sky. On these occasions he saw no sky people--only uninhabited deep canyons.

Once he dreamed of going under the ground. The earth was coal-black as were some people he saw there. He was afraid and wanted to faint, but with a long stick he removed a lid covering the shaft through which he had entered and he hurried away.